

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0331

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SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1975
(SALT TWO - 766)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1975.

I

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL PROVISIONS OF THE
UNDERSTANDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL CONCERNING PREPARATION
OF A NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. ON THE LIMITA-
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END
OF 1985, IS THE DECISION, RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF
DECEMBER 10, 1974, THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL CONTAIN A
DEFINITE STIPULATION ON SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER
LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

INCORPORATING THIS PART OF THE UNDERSTANDING IN THE JOINT
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DRAFT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS IMPORTANT FOR

FURTHER DEVELOPING AND STRENGTHENING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S., AS WELL AS FOR THE OVERALL COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, VIEWED OVER THE LONG TERM.

IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISION OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, IT IS NECESSARY, BUILDING ON THE CORRESPONDING AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE PREAMBLE, TO MATERIALLY RECORD, IN THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE DRAFT BEING WORKED OUT, THE INTENTION OF BOTH SIDES, IN THE FUTURE AS WELL, TO ACT IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AIMED AT REDUCING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF WAR AND AT LIMITING ARMS. THIS WOULD CONFIRM IN AN INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT AS IMPORTANT AS THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, THE OBJECTIVES PROCLAIMED BY BOTH SIDES, WHICH THEY SET FOR THEMSELVES WITH RESPECT TO THE CENTRAL AND MAIN DIRECTION OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY FOR THE SIDES TO ASSUME A MUTUAL OBLIGATION UNDER ARTICLE XVI TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS IN 1977, AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS. SPECIFYING THAT SUCH SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BEGIN AS EARLY AS 1977, I.E. AT A TIME NOT FAR REMOVED FROM COMPLETION OF RATIFICATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE RESOLVE OF THE STATES TO CONTINUE UNINTERRUPTED MOVEMENT IN THAT DIRECTION.

THE SOVIET UNION ALSO BELIEVES THAT ARTICLE XVI OF THE JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST CONTAIN A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED NEGOTIATIONS WOULD DEAL WITH FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS, BOTH BEFORE EXPIRATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND DURING THE PERIOD AFTER 1985.

A SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDING ON SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS WOULD ALSO BE IN ACCORD WITH THE OBLIGATION, CONTAINED IN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. OF MAY 29, 1972, TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS AND, WHENEVER POSSIBLE, TO CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS AIMED AT ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE.

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IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS WOULD BE A NEW IMPORTANT STEP IN FURTHER IMPLEMENTING DETENTE AND IN COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE BY MILITARY DETENTE; THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO STRENGTHENING UNIVERSAL PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IN SUBMITTING ITS PROPOSAL ON THE QUESTION UNDER CONSIDERATION, THE SOVIET SIDE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE PROPOSALS

MADE BY THE U.S. SIDE, AS WELL.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS INSTRUCTED THE USSR DELEGATION TO PROPOSE THAT THE SIDES ASSUME AN OBLIGATION TO BEGIN IN 1977, AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS, BOTH BEFORE EXPIRATION OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AND DURING THE PERIOD AFTER 1985.

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO STATE, WHEN SUBMITTING THIS PROPOSAL, THAT AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIET SIDE WILL ALSO RAISE THE QUESTIONS OF FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES.

THE POSITION OF PRINCIPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THESE MATTERS IS KNOWN TO YOU. THE SOVIET SIDE DEEMS IT IMPERATIVE TO ADOPT MEASURES TO PREVENT A BUILDUP OF FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND TO REDUCE THEM. IT ALSO PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES MUST BE DULY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AT THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

ASSUMPTION OF THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE XVI WILL CONSTITUTE CONCRETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONVICTION OF THE SIDES, EXPRESSED AT THE SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK, ON THE NECESSITY OF DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING GUARANTEES AGAINST THE OUTBREAK OF A NUCLEAR CONFLICT AND OF WAR IN GENERAL, AND THEIR READINESS TO MAKE ENERGETIC EFFORTS TO SOLVE THIS HISTORIC PROBLEM. THIS WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR AND THE U.S., AS
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WELL AS OTHER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0331

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II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SIDES HAVE REACHED A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE NECESSITY OF INCORPORATING IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT ARTICLE X, ON BANNING THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING OR DEPLOYMENT OF SOME NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THIS UNDERSTANDING IS FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE CORRESPONDING PROVISION OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, WHICH STATES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985 COULD ALSO PROVIDE FOR ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC ARMS DURING THE PERIOD OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS.

AS YOU KNOW, AT THE MEETING OF AUGUST 12, 1975, THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE X WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT AT THE NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE AUGUST 29, 1975 MEETING, THE SOVIET SIDE TOOK A FURTHER
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IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARTICLE X BY TABLING A NEW PROPOSAL FOR SUBPAR. (E) OF THAT ARTICLE, BANNING SYSTEMS FOR PLACING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR ANY OTHER KIND OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION INTO ORBIT AROUND THE EARTH, AS WELL AS PARTLY ORBITAL MISSILES.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

WHICH THE SIDES HAVE ON THE ISSUES DEALT WITH IN ARTICLE X, THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES TO BEGIN SPECIFIC WORK TOWARD REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE ON THE BASIS OF THE FORMULATIONS TABLED BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

III

WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE LIMITATIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, AN IMPORTANT PLACE IS HELD BY THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES NOT TO EQUIP ANY TYPE OF AIRPLANE, HELICOPTER OR OTHER AIRCRAFT, OTHER THAN HEAVY BOMBERS, WITH AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS, AND NOT TO USE TRANSPORT AIRPLANES AS DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR CONVERT THEM FOR THESE PURPOSES. THESE MATTERS ARE DEALT WITH IN ARTICLE IX OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975.

ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, INCLUDING AT THE MEETINGS OF JULY 7 AND 9, AS WELL AS AUGUST 5, 1975, THE USSR DELEGATION HAS PROVIDED WELL-FOUNDED RATIONALE IN SUPPORT OF THE NECESSITY TO INCLUDE APPROPRIATE LIMITATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN ORDER TO REACH SPECIFIC MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECISIONS WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, THE USSR DELEGATION ON AUGUST 15, 1975 TABLED NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE IX.

AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THE SIDES AGREE ON THE NECESSITY OF INCLUDING IN THE NEW AGREEMENT THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE IX OF THE DRAFT. TAKING THIS INTO ACCOUNT, THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO START WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS FOR ARTICLE IX ON THE BASIS OF THAT WORDING OF THIS ARTICLE WHICH IS BEFORE US.

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IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE RECESS, THE SIDES HAVE BEEN DEVOTING MUCH ATTENTION TO CONSIDERING FORMULATIONS REGARDING THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH ENSUE FROM THE 2,400 AGGREGATE QUANTITATIVE LEVEL TO BE ESTABLISHED FOR STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SIDES HAVE STUDIED IN DETAIL A NUMBER OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN ARTICLE IV OF THE JOINT DOCUMENT OF MAY 7, 1975, INCLUDING OBLIGATIONS TO BAN RAPID RELOAD SYSTEMS.

IN THE INTEREST OF PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TABLE THE FOLLOWING WORDING FOR ARTICLE IV, PAR. 4:

"THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY
SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS."

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THIS
PROPOSAL, AS WELL AS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AT THE AUGUST 26, 1975
MEETING ON NON-RELOCATION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, ENSURES
ATTAINING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS WITHIN THE FRAME-
WORK OF THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE. WE
BELEIVE THAT THE GROUP ON PREPARING THE JOINT TEXT OF THE
DRAFT AGREEMENT COULD UNDERTAKE THE WORK OF AGREEING ON
SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS FOR THESE PROVISIONS.JOHNSON

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